CAREY & CO. INC.
ARCHITECTURE

SAN JOSE JAPANTOWN HISTORIC CONTEXT AND RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY
San Jose, California

REVISED DRAFT

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SUMMARY

This report contains the following six sections: Introduction, Methodology, Historic Context, Reconnaissance Survey Results, Recommendations, and Appendix. The **Introduction** presents the project's goals, community stakeholders, and report authors. The **Methodology** describes the key tasks undertaken by the report authors during the preparation of this document. The **Historic Context** provides the historical background information necessary to understand how San Jose's Japantown neighborhood has evolved over time. The **Reconnaissance Survey Results** section consists of statistical data compiled from the reconnaissance survey efforts. The **Recommendations** section suggests potential future actions based on Carey & Co.'s observations and professional opinions. The **Appendix** section contains survey area maps, completed Department of Parks and Recreation 523 A (DPR Primary Record) forms for a selected group of parcels within the survey area, and completed field survey forms for those parcels not receiving a DPR Primary Record form.

INTRODUCTION

Project Goals
At the request of the City of San Jose, Carey & Co. has prepared this historic context statement and reconnaissance survey for San Jose's Japantown neighborhood. The goal of the project is two-fold: first, to compile a history of the physical development of San Jose's Japantown and, second, to organize and begin the process of identifying potential historic properties located within the neighborhood's boundaries. San Jose's Japantown, as defined in this survey, consists of all of the properties between North 1st and North 10th Streets to the west and east and Taylor and Empire Streets to the north and south.

See Appendix B for a map of the survey area.

Community Stakeholders
The San Jose Japantown Historic Context and Reconnaissance Survey undertaking is the result of a strong and successful public-private partnership. Representatives from the following stakeholder organizations worked together to create the project's scope, prepare the Request for Proposals, choose a historical consultant, provide support during the research and survey phases, and give feedback during the writing of the document:

- Japantown Community Congress
- Japantown Business Association
- City of San Jose Historic Landmarks Commission
- City of San Jose Planning Division
- California Office of Historic Preservation

Report Authors
Carey & Co. was selected as the historic consultant through a competitive proposal process in late 2003. The primary authors were the following Carey & Co. staff: Hisashi B. Sugaya, Project Manager; Sarah M. Dreller, Architectural Historian; and Carin Petersen, Project Assistant. Providing overall expert guidance was Dr. Gail Dubrow, director of the Preservation Planning and Design Program at the University of Washington and author of *Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage*.[1]

METHODOLOGY

Including the Community in the Process
Because of the strong involvement by both public and private stakeholders the pre-consultant selection phases of this project, this project includes a large and important community-based component. The authors' goal was to keep the stakeholders informed and invite their help in the preparation of the report documents. In addition to countless informal meetings between the authors and community members, Carey & Co. attended the following organized meetings as part of this project:

1. January 24, 2004: Japantown Community Congress gathering
2. March 15, 2004: Progress Report feedback session with the Japantown Survey Committee
3. May 2, 2004: Nikkei Matsuri festival and project direction discussion with Dr. Dubrow
4. May 5, 2004: Progress update presentation to the City of San Jose Historic Landmarks Commission

Preparing the Historic Context Statement
The historic context statement contained in this report is based on a carefully formulated and implemented project-specific research program. Emphasis was placed on the variety and quality of source materials, including archival documents (maps, photographs, period newspaper articles, city and business directories, etc.), oral histories, and scholarly studies.

See Appendix A for a complete list of sources consulted.

[1] Gail Dubrow with Donna Graves, *Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage* (Seattle, WA: Seattle Arts Commission, 2002).

Undertaking the Reconnaissance Survey and Selecting Parcels for DPR Primary Records
The reconnaissance survey was prepared by first collecting survey area data (such as parcel numbers, street addresses, and Assessor's construction dates) and conducting a "drive-by" site visit to identify the area's typical building types. A field survey form was created using this information and property-by-property visual observations were then recorded.

Department of Parks and Recreation 523A (Primary Record) forms were prepared for a portion of the survey area. Parcels were chosen for documentation using the DPR Primary Record form based on their proximity to the geographic and traditional cultural center of the Japantown neighborhood, located along East Jackson Street between North 3rd and 6th Streets. Completed field survey forms and photographs have been included in this report for all properties not documented on a DPR Primary Record form.

See Appendix B for a map indicating parcels selected for documentation using DPR Primary Record forms.

See Appendix C for the reconnaissance survey matrix.

See Appendix F for the DPR Primary Record forms. [to be included in the final report]

See Appendix G for the field survey forms and photographs for all remaining properties. [to be included in the final report]

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Introduction
San Jose's Japantown neighborhood displays a mixture of low-rise residential and commercial buildings, with wide streets, mostly small lots, and train tracks running through it that are still in use today. Although it is located near downtown, the neighborhood was considered the edge of town for most of the 19th century. As such, it was home to some of San Jose's most marginalized immigrant populations, including its Chinese and Japanese bachelor communities. By the early 1890s, the development pattern seen today was approximately one-third established, centered mainly between North 3rd and 6th Streets. With the large influx of immigrants that occurred after the turn of the century, however, it took less than two decades for the remaining two-thirds to be divided into parcels and built up. Despite changes to large eastern sections of the neighborhood since that time, its fundamental form and character today remains faithful to its early 20th century manifestation. The area is known as "Japantown" because the cluster of Japanese businesses, and related social and cultural institutions, have sustained the area's Japanese American community. Other immigrant groups also settled in this area, however, and their presence merits recognition within the neighborhood's history.

See Appendix D for selected historical Sanborn maps (1884, 1891, 1915, 1950).

See Appendix E for maps of parcel occupancy by ethnic group (1925, 1935, 1940, 1943, 1947).

The Japanese American Experience in California
While numerous Japantowns arose in California in the first half of the twentieth century, San Jose is one of the three most intact remaining communities, the other two being San Francisco

and Los Angeles. Japanese immigration to California began as early as 1869, just after a change in the Japanese government resulted in a general improvement in relations with the West.[2] Japanese did not begin coming to the United States in earnest until 1886, when the government legalized emigration. Most early Japanese immigrants went to Hawaii looking for work or as part of organized labor program. Some stayed there, while others continued on to the mainland. Those that did not come here through Hawaii arrived from other countries or directly from Japan. By 1900, the largest populations of Japanese immigrants in this country were in Hawaii (61,000), California (10,000), and Washington (5,600).[3]

Almost all of the early Japanese immigrants were unmarried men. Many left their homes intending to make money for a short time and then return, a traditional practice in Japan called *dekasegi rodo* that before 1886 had applied to temporary travel to cities from the countryside.[4] Many of these men came from prefectures where agriculture was the dominant industry. As such, these individuals looked for places to go where they could apply their experience to finding a job quickly. In California, those who disembarked in San Francisco and wanted farm work either headed northeast toward Sacramento or south toward the Santa Clara Valley. Often these men were transient, following the growing seasons for particular crops rather than settling in one place.[5] This led to the development of small communities beginning in the 1890s whose major function was to act as a temporary stop-over and jumping-off point for Japanese men on their way to their next farm job. San Jose originally began as this type of community, becoming larger and stronger than other similar communities over time in part because of the Santa Clara Valley's fertility. The transitory nature of the population changed after 1924, when a nation-wide law was passed summarily excluding Japanese men from coming to the United States. It was at this time that large numbers of women began to arrive. The "picture bride" system, in which a marriage was arranged with a woman in Japan based mostly on the exchange of photographs, accelerated the formation of families in Japanese American communities. This, in turn, led to the development of family-oriented institutions as well as those intended to serve the Nisei, or second generation Japanese.

Initially Japanese immigrants did not meet with as much fear and hatred from white Californians as the Chinese had experienced. However, legislation beginning after the turn of the century made it clear that the Japanese were the exclusionists' next target. In 1907, President Roosevelt issued an executive order ending migration of Japanese laborers from Hawaii and Mexico. In that same year, Japan and the United States signed a "Gentlemen's Agreement" in which Japan was to stop allowing emigration to the United States in return for an end to discrimination against Japanese already living here. In 1913, and again in 1920, the state passed Alien Land Laws limiting the right of Japanese immigrants to own property. In 1922, during the case of *Takao*

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[2] City of San Jose Commission on The Internment of Local Japanese Americans, *"…With Liberty and Justice for All.": The Story of San Jose's Japanese Community* (February 1985): 5.
[3] Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese-Americans—The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: n.p., 1969): 162, cited in *"…With Liberty and Justice for All."*, 6.
[4] David J. O'Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IL: Indiana University Press, 1991): 11.
[5] Timothy J. Lukes and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Japanese Legacy: Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Valley* (Cupertino, CA: California History Center, 1985): 21.

Ozawa v. United States, the United States Supreme Court stated that Japanese were ineligible for American citizenship because they did not qualify as "free white persons" as defined in 1790.[6]

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, making it legal for authorities to remove people from an area without trials or hearings on the basis of "military necessity." The resulting forced internment of Japanese Americans devastated the supportive communities they had worked so hard to develop. Many Japanese Americans were given only days to prepare, hurriedly abandoning their homes and selling their businesses' stock at a loss. Some of these properties stood vacant through the war, while non-Japanese moved into others. After the war, when Japanese American evacuees were released from internment camps, they often discovered that the communities they had left were no longer available to them. Despite these problems, three *Nihonmachi* managed to be re-established after the war: San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Jose. Of these, only San Jose provided a direct link to the agricultural heritage that had been central to Japanese American experience in the prewar period.

According to census figures, by 1950 the number of Japanese Americans living in California had decreased approximately 10% from its pre-war levels. With about 36,000 people both before and after the war, Los Angeles County had by far the largest concentration of Japanese Americans in the state; other counties, such as San Francisco, Alameda, Fresno, Sacramento, and Santa Clara had no more than 6000 each. However, during the 1950s, the Japanese American population in California doubled. In Los Angeles County, the 1960 census recorded about 77,000 Japanese Americans. About 10,500 Japanese Americans lived in Santa Clara by the end of the decade. A high post-war birth rate among Nisei and the return of more Japanese American evacuees to California are considered the two major factors that caused the population numbers to rise.[7] Recruitment of educated Japanese Americans to work in the emerging high technology industry and the acceptance of Japanese Americans into colleges such as San Jose State University may have also contributed to this increase.

The 1950s also saw several important Japanese American political milestones. For California, one of the most important events was the repealing of the alien land laws in 1956. Nationwide, it was in 1959 that the first Japanese American was elected to the United States Congress (Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii).

During the 1960s and 70s so-called "blighted areas" in large cities were dramatically altered by "urban renewal" projects. For the Japanese American cultural landscapes in San Francisco and Los Angeles, this era brought the construction of outdoor shopping plazas featuring modernized Japanese architectural forms that today function as the commercial centers for these communities. In both instances, however, these developments came at a price: the removal of

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[6] One of the owners of the *Sacramento Bee* newspaper, V.S. McClatchy, was a major supporter of exclusionist policies and legislation. Editorials with titles such as "Alien Asiatics Should Not Be Admitted To Citizenship" (January 1920) were typical. (Wayne Maeda, review of *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice: Modifying the Exclusion Clause of the 1924 Immigration Act*, by Izumi Hirobe, *California Historian* [Stockton, CA: Conference of California Historical Societies, 2003]; Dixie Reid, "Boom & bust: People had money to spend, and in Sacramento they bought $6,000 houses in east Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee* [31 December 1999].).

[7] Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura, "A History of Japanese Americans in California: Patterns of Settlement and Occupational Characteristics," in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, 1988): [online].

large culturally important sections of older homes and businesses that had played a role in the original formation of the communities. Urban renewal of this sort did not effect San Jose. Rather, the Japanese business district there continued to function in the same general location and with the same general manner as it had before in earlier times.

With few exceptions, a striking feature of all three *Nihonmachi* is the almost complete lack of Japanese forms, construction methods, or architectural details in the communities' buildings. Indeed, visitors to any of these neighborhoods see very little physical manifestation of an otherwise strong cultural identity. Dr. Gail Dubrow, an architectural and urban historian specializing in Japanese American heritage, believes that this phenomenon resulted from the decades of anti-Japanese discrimination that led immigrants to minimize expressions of ethnic differences and mask property ownership in Japanese American communities.[8] Rather than wanting to broadcast their ethnicity, Dubrow contends that as a group they knew it was in their best interest to minimize cultural differences to the extent it was possible, to avoid fueling the exclusionists' perception that Japanese immigrants were inassimilable aliens who should be refused citizenship rights. As a result the commercial architecture blends seamlessly into its surroundings, punctuated only by the stylized Japanese Modern urban renewal projects in San Francisco and Los Angeles and a scattering of traditionally designed Buddhist temples. As such, the value of these places springs not from their architectural distinction but from their function as centers of cultural continuity.

Fruit Farming in the Santa Clara Valley

While San Francisco and Los Angeles have historically been large and diverse urban centers, San Jose before the mid-20th century was essentially a small town that served one main function– to support farming in nearby areas. Newcomers to California wanting to establish themselves in dense urban centers chose either San Francisco or Los Angeles, while those intending to work in the state's farming industry decided among the various agricultural centers, including the Clara Valley, the Central Valley, and the Vaca Valley/Sacramento delta area east of San Francisco.[9] For Santa Clara Valley, San Jose acted as a "gateway" through which new arrivals found work opportunities as well as food, housing, and support services they needed between jobs. So connected is the growth of San Jose with the development of the surrounding landscape that they are best considered in relation to one another. This is particularly true when considering the history of Japanese Americans in the area, who came to the Santa Clara County during the fruit farming boom there.

Organized fruit farming in the Santa Clara Valley dates to the middle of the 19th century. Before this time missions and landowning Spanish Californians kept individual farms to provide mainly for their own needs, giving the remainder of their property over to cattle grazing. It was not until the Americans took control that the commercial potential of this "long-neglected or overlooked opportunity" was realized.[10] Described by Clyde Arbuckle as "competitive from the start,"

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[8] Gail Dubrow, "The Nail That Sticks Up Gets Hit: The Architecture of Japanese American Identity in the Urban Environment, 1884-1942." Invited contribution to *Nikkei (Dis)Appearances: Twentieth Century Japanese American and Japanese Canadian History in the Pacific Northwest*, edited by Louis Fiset and Gail Nomura (Seattle: University of Washington Press, in press).; and Gail Dubrow, "Deru Kugi Wa Utareru or The Nail That Sticks Up Gets Hit: The Architecture of Japanese American Identity, 1885-1942. The Rural Environment." *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 19:4 (Winter 2002): 319-333.

[9] Lukes and Okihiro, 21.

[10] Clyde Arbuckle, *History of San Jose* (San Jose, CA: South & McKay Printing Co., 1986): 153.

Americans brought in new seeds, imported nursery stock, and accumulated land for the purpose of establishing commercial farms.[11] The growth of organized agricultural production in Santa Clara Valley also occurred in large part as a response to the influx of Gold Rush settlers who needed food and were particularly eager for the fruit that grew in around San Jose. During the 1860s, when gold became less abundant, some miners came to the Santa Clara Valley having heard about farming's profitability and to attempt it themselves. Although a few went into growing grain and raising cattle, so many orchards were established that by 1868 the market was overwhelmed with apples, peaches, and pears.[12] This, along with J.Q.A. Ballou's success at drying fruit in 1867, the completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1869, and Dr. James Dawson's canning experiments in 1871 encouraged innovation, diversification, and expansion of the agriculture in Santa Clara Valley.[13] The following industry description, published by Thompson & West in their 1876 *Historical atlas map of Santa Clara County, California*, conveys the overall sense of optimism and enthusiasm of the period:

> The long dry season from April to November is especially favorable to the maturing of crops of all kinds. It causes the death of all insects and vermin, so destructive to fruit and grain in counties where the summer months are interspersed with frequent showers. It affords the farmer ample time to harvest without fear of injury from rain. It is this peculiarity also which, by thoroughly ripening the grain, gives to Californian wheat its world-wide reputation for excellence, and which causes that perfection in California fruit which has excited the admiration of people in less favored States…
>
> Fruit culture was one of the earliest industries engaged in in this County…The quality of the fruit, however, was very inferior; and although large quantities were grown, it was comparatively worthless. But within the last fifteen or twenty years this has been changed. The old and worthless trees have either been cut down or rooted up, orchards of superior quality have taken their place, until now this interest is one of the most valuable in the County, yielding an immense revenue…
>
> …Great as is the amount of fruit of various kinds now raised in the County, it seems that this industry is only in its infancy. There are thousands of acres of unoccupied land in the foothills and mountains specially adapted for this purpose, and the value of which for fruit growing has just begun to be realized.[14]

Publications of this sort, in addition to simply reporting on the area's agricultural and financial successes, also likely contributed to the establishment of new farms and the influx of new residents. During the last two decades Santa Clara County experienced an exponential jump in the number of small farms, from about 700 in 1880 to over 3,000 in just two decades.[15]

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[11] Arbuckle, 153.
[12] Arbuckle, 155.
[13] Arbuckle, 155; Lukes and Okihiro, 15.
[14] Thompson & West, *Historical atlas map of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco: Thompson & West, 1876): 12.
[15] Lukes and Okihiro, 15.

Agriculture in the "Valley of Heart's Delight," as the area came to be known in the early 20th century, continued to grow until reaching its zenith in the 1920s and early 30s. The number of farms was highest in 1925 (about 7,000), after which it began to decline. With the exception of apples and peaches, which had already lost some of their attractiveness, acreage devoted to most fruits increased until about 1932. By the time World War II began, though, acreages across the board had fallen. Some had been replaced by row crops, but in general agriculture had started to loose its appeal.[16] This doubtless occurred in part as a result of the overall economic distress of Great Depression, but it was also at this time that new high-technology research and development activities started to show profitability. This trend continued after the war, amplified by the establishment of new high-technology corporate campuses and the increasingly open admissions policies at San Jose State University. The high-technology era continues today, with the term "Silicon Valley" having gained currency as the most popular moniker for San Jose and its environs.

Throughout its history, the agriculture industry in Santa Clara Valley benefited from the steady availability of a highly capable and often inexpensive foreign labor force.[17] As the following sections discuss, the Japanese were among a number of immigrant groups that established themselves in San Jose to participate in the area's growing prosperity.

San Jose Japantown area: pre-1890s

During the 19th century, like today, the more San Jose grew the more its edges came to be integrated into the larger city as full-fledged San Jose neighborhoods. Such is the history of pre-1890s Japantown, which began at the margins of the original 1850 City of San Jose boundaries but was engulfed by an expanding development radius by the end of the century. This is reflected in the evolution of Sanborn map coverage of the city before 1900: East Taylor Street was included as the northernmost edge on an 1884 Sanborn map but the next map, drawn only seven years later in 1891, encompassed all of the survey area.

It should be noted that while the 1884 map does not provide a detailed look at development within the survey area, two items indicated on the map foreshadow things to come. Cutting through the blocks between East Empire Street and the top of the map were a major set of railroad tracks, an important impetus for San Jose's overall development and the focus of large canning factories in later decades. [18] Although as the following text will show the neighborhood experienced a brief moment in the late 19th century when there were almost no businesses, the early 20th century saw an explosive commercial growth along this same stretch of East Jackson Street.

Before the Japanese arrived in San Jose in the early 1890s, Italians, African Americans, and Chinese constituted the earliest and largest ethnic populations to settle within the boundaries of the Japantown study area. The Italians arrived initially in 1849. Most were from relatively wealthy Northern Italian families, hoping to escape their homeland's political turmoil by

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[16] Arbuckle, 163.

[17] Lukes and Okihiro, 9-11 & 15-16.

[18] The 1884 Sanborn map also indicates an area called "North Marketplace," encompassing East Jackson Street between North 3rd and North 5th Streets. The Thompson & West map of San Jose included with in their 1876 Santa Clara County atlas leaves the same sections of East Jackson Street open (rather than assigning them lot numbers) but it does not provide information as to why this is the case. Attempts to uncover more data regarding the "North Marketplace" were unsuccessful.

establishing themselves permanently in the United States. They came to San Jose because the climate was very similar to their own and soon became heavily involved in the agriculture industry. Those who were not farmers in the valley had businesses in San Jose catering to the farming community's needs. Most early Italians lived near St. James Square, but also settled throughout the west half of the city. These Italian immigrants may have been among the first residents in the survey area.[19]

The earliest African Americans came to California in 1849, drawn here initially to work in the gold mines and make enough money to pay for their freedom and send for their families. Eight came to Santa Clara County, five men and three women, and settled northeast of the center of town. Toward the end of the century, as more African Americans arrived, some moved close to Heinlenville to rent rooms in the Chinese-run boarding houses or because it was one of the only areas of San Jose where they could purchase property. The largest concentration of African Americans was located between the railroad tracks and the beginning of farmed property, around North 17th Street. This area, today referred to as the Northside neighborhood, overlaps with the east side of the Japantown study area.[20]

Though beginning in the late 1850s, Chinese settlement in Santa Clara County peaked around 1890.[21] They came to the area at first to get away from persecution in mining towns and to work on local railroad construction or land clearing projects. Their ability to do jobs that others did not want and at hourly wages that others would not accept made the Chinese an attractive farm worker pool. This was particularly true when orchards became popular in the 1860s and 70s, since picking fruit from trees was a time- and labor-intensive undertaking. Anti-Chinese policies and activities during the late 19th century discouraged them from settling in the valley long-term and by the early 20th century their numbers had dropped considerably.[22]

Unlike the Italians, who came to the United States as intact families, restrictive immigration policies led to a bachelor society for Chinese immigrants to America, including those who came to Santa Clara County. This, combined with the discrimination the Chinese encountered and the opportunistic attitudes of a few local entrepreneurs, resulted in a settlement pattern in San Jose that differed dramatically from that of the Italian experience. Rather than living throughout the city as an integrated part of the community, several groups of Chinese men were concentrated together in areas that provided the commercial services needed to sustain daily life. Each enclave owed its continued subsistence to wealthy San Jose businessmen, either as their collective landlord and/or primary employer.[23]

The most enduring of San Jose's Chinatowns was located within the boundaries of today's Japantown neighborhood, on the north half of the block bordered by North 6th and 7th Streets to the west and east and East Taylor and Jackson Streets to the north and south. This community

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[19] John DeVincenzi, local Italian American historian, personal communication with the authors, 21 May 2004

[20] Joyce Ellington, African American community leader, interview, 22 July 2004; Dr. Harriet Arnold, local historian, interview, 22 July 2004.

[21] Luke and Okihiro, 19.

[22] Luke and Okihiro, 12-15, 19.

[23] Donna M. Garaventa, Sondra A. Jarvis, and Melody E. Tannam, *Cultural Resources Assessment for the Jackson-Taylor Residential Strategy EIR, City of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California* (San Leandro, CA: Basin Research Associates, Inc., 1991): 13.

was constructed in 1887, after an earlier Chinese settlement in downtown San Jose caught fire and burned beyond repair. The property owner, German immigrant John Heinlen, also served as the developer, earning it the name "Heinlenville."[24] The entire project was designed by Heinlen's friend Theodore Lenzen (1863-1912), the well-respected German American architect who was at that time also designing San Jose's city hall building. Lenzen's design consisted of a series of narrow streets divided the half-block area into six segments, each with a large one- or two-story building housing a mixture of residential units and narrow commercial spaces.[25] Connie Young Yu, historian of San Jose's Chinese American past, has described the development as having "fine looking stores with good doors and windows just like other business areas of San Jose" and "solid wooden boardwalks."[26] The construction of this permanent Chinese community caused so much anti-Chinese consternation in San Jose that an eight-foot-high wood fence had to be placed around the community to protect it from anti-Chinese violence.[27]

Additional buildings in the vicinity supported the Chinese community, which relied at first on commercial enterprises in lieu of the domestic labor built in to marriage and family life and, later, on the services needed to support a family-oriented community. To the north, near Taylor Street, stood the Ng Shing Gung, a two-story brick temple structure built in 1888. This building housed, among other things, a Chinese school.[28] Just south of the development and across North 7th Street sat one-story bathhouses. Across North 6th Street to the west was a one-story Chinese theater building.[29]

With the exception of Heinlenville, the neighborhood's long-lot-with-narrow-frontage development pattern began to appear throughout the area at this time. These parcels, approximately 25'x100' in dimension, originated in part from the Spanish-American *vara* measurement system and had became the widely accepted standard layout as early as 1860.[30] For California towns like San Jose, which were not urban enough to use every square foot but not rural enough for large acreages, dividing blocks in this way gave each parcel room for one free-standing home, a rear yard, and a few small outbuildings. Each family had some space and autonomy from the surrounding buildings, but there were still a sufficiently high number of structures per block to allow for the possible formation of a cohesive neighborhood in the future. By the early 1890s, the two blocks between North 4th and 5th Streets to the west and east and East Taylor and Empire Streets to the north and south were almost entirely developed along the long-lot-with-narrow-frontage development pattern. Several other blocks, such as those bounded by North 2nd and 4th Streets on the west and east and East Taylor and Jackson Streets to the north and south, were already partially built up as well.

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[24] Jimi Yamaichi, former general contractor and life-long San Jose resident, personal communication with the author, 20 April 2004.
[25] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1891, vol. 1, map # 2.
[26] Connie Young Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose, USA* (San Jose, CA: San Jose Historical Museum, 1991): 40.
[27] Yu, viii & 41; Ralph Schneider, "The San Jose Joss House," in *Chinese Argonauts: An Anthology of the Chinese Contributions to the Historical Development of Santa Clara County*, ed. Gloria Sun Hom (Los Altos, CA: Foothill Community College, 1971): 88.
[28] Yu, viii.
[29] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1891, vol. 1, maps # 2 & 3.
[30] Anne Vernez Moudon, *Built for Change: Neighborhood Architecture in San Francisco* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1986): 47; Christopher J. Duerksen and James Van Hemert, *True West: Authentic Development Patterns for Small Towns and Rural Areas* (Chicago: American Planning Association, 2003): 22.

With the exception of the Heinlenville community and its satellite buildings, practically all the buildings located within the survey area in the early 1890s appear to have been residential. East Jackson Street, along which today's business district sits, consisted at this time of mostly empty lots or homes that faced the north-and-south-running numbered streets. The same can be said for East Taylor Street, where there also can be found a number of businesses now. This said, the genesis of East Jackson and East Taylor as commercial-oriented zones had occurred by the early 1890s. At the corner of North 6th and East Jackson Streets, a two-story building contained a bathhouse and several dormitory-style units. A seven-storefront structure located mid-way along North 5th Street between East Taylor and East Jackson Streets also featured a bathhouse, as well as an establishment labeled "Chinese Mission" on early maps of the area. Finally, a Chinese-owned compound at the corner of North 5th and East Taylor Streets featured a variety of stores and outbuildings.

San Jose Japantown: Establishment and Growth, 1890s-1941
Much of Japantown as it exists today had its beginnings in the first decades of the 20th century: a Japanese business district grew up along East Jackson Street around North 6th Streets and the long, narrow residential lots filled with the homes of a multi-ethnic population. However, the pre-1941 area contained two distinct features that are not longer present: the isolated Heinlenville enclave, which survived until 1931; and a series of very large canneries east of the railroad tracks, which were not demolished until the early 21st century.

A Japanese business district developed in the center of this neighborhood at very rapid rate, paralleling the expansion of agricultural production during this period. Indeed, within two decades of the arrival of the first Japanese in San Jose in the early 1890s, an entire network of boarding houses, bathhouses, restaurants, and stores had materialized. Turn-of-the-century census data for Santa Clara County documents the Japanese community's rapid growth in Santa Clara County. In 1890, 27 Japanese were recorded living in the county. Ten years later, that number had increased over ten-fold, to 284. One decade after that, in 1910, the census data leapt to over 8 times the 1900 figure, reaching 2,299.[31] All of the Japanese who came to Santa Clara County during this dramatic 8500% increase in their population required immediate food, shelter, and employment—and most found it at the corner of North 6th and East Jackson Streets in San Jose.

It is no coincidence that the center of the Japanese business district developed near San Jose's largest Chinese settlement. The Heinlenville area offered a number of advantages to incoming Japanese bachelors, not the least of which were the restaurants, bars, and gambling establishments that were run and/or frequented by the Chinese and available to them without much fear of discrimination.

With word spreading that the area near Heinlenville in San Jose was the place where newly arrived Japanese men could find the services they needed and wanted, new buildings were constructed and a Japanese business district emerged. By the mid-1910s, the area contained at least 10 boardinghouses and three bathhouses as well as everything from candy stores to bicycle repair shops.[32] Among the specifically Japanese-oriented businesses were Iida Sake Brewery, located on North 5th Street, and Nomitsu Tofu, located on North 6th Street. As the area developed, boarding house managers assumed the role of middlemen in finding work in the

[31] Lukes and Okihiro, 19.
[32] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, 1915, vol. 1, map # 43; Lukes and Okihiro, 22-23.

valley for the Japanese who stayed there. Men lived on the farms while they worked, and then returned to the boardinghouse in the interim between jobs, with this pattern often following growing seasons. Life at the boardinghouses and on the farms was unpleasant, but some who lived through this time also remember it as an era of energetic fellowship:

> [The boardinghouses] brought us by horse carriage to the place to work, and we each were given one blanket. Our living conditions were miserable at the time. We slept next to a horse stable on our blankets and some straw…Japantown was so lively in 1912. Everyone only had horses and bicycles. Many Japanese lived on Sixth Street between Jackson and Taylor. Most of the men were single, and they played around whenever they had some money. The main entertainment was billiards and *hanafuda* [a Japanese card game]…the first floor of each [boardinghouse] had a billiard parlor. There were many shops…and three large bars…There were many [Japanese-style restaurants] where people drank and had parties…[33]

While many of the lodging houses, bars, and restaurants were located along North 6th Street between East Jackson and East Taylor Streets, immediately adjacent to Heinlenville, a significant number of shops and boardinghouses also extended west along East Jackson Street to North 4th Street. The north side of this portion of East Jackson Street was particularly dense with these types of businesses that served working men, with the beginnings of a parallel development along the south side of East Jackson Street near the corner with North 5th Street. Although at the time somewhat secondary to the main North 6th Street area, the closure and/or demolition of most of the North 6th Street buildings later in the 20th century caused the focus of the community to shift around to East Jackson Street as seen today.

In addition to these businesses, some services arose to meet the emerging needs of both working men and families in the Japanese immigrant community. Medical treatment was available at Kuwabara Hospital, where they could find doctors that spoke Japanese and understood their cultural background, and there were two midwives, Mrs. Hori and Mrs. Seki. Also along North 5th Street stood two religious structures, a Methodist church south of East Jackson Street and a Buddhist mission north of East Jackson Street, both of which had begun there around the turn of the century. A second Buddhist mission was housed in a building on North 6th Street near of East Empire Street. For recreation, the Japanese American community enjoyed baseball and sumo wrestling at the dual-purpose field that encompassed the southeast corner of the intersection of North 6th and East Jackson Streets.

Roughly simultaneous with the growth of the Japanese business district at the corner of North 6th and East Jackson Street was the beginning of a commercial zone of a different sort just east of the railroad tracks: food processing warehouses. Most of these industrial buildings were dedicated to fruit drying and canning. The first of the large canneries to be located there was the San Jose branch of the Central California Canneries corporation. Spanning the two blocks between North 7th and 9th Streets on the west and east and East Jackson and East Empire Streets on the north and south, by the mid-1910s the facility included a series of attached warehouses, a power house, and an employee housing area. In addition, two different brandy distilleries constructed factories at the corner of North 8th and East Taylor Streets. Sections of spur tracks led into the

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[33] Steven Misawa, ed., "Mr. Masuo Akizuki," in *Beginnings: Japanese Americans in San Jose* (San Jose, CA: Japanese American Community Senior Service, 1981): 12 and 14.

Central California Canneries area along North 7th Street and between the distilleries along North 8th Street, allowing the companies to make even more efficient use of their locations. A dried fruit warehouse, a pottery company, a winery, and an asphalt plant were also among the businesses that established themselves near the railroad tracks during Japantown's early years. By the 1920s and 30s, the Central California Canneries facility had been taken over by the California Packing Company and the additional warehouses were constructed within the original factory's boundaries as well as across East Jackson Street where one of the distilleries had been. Another cannery, this one owned by Drew Canning Company, had also displaced the other distillery at the corner of North 8th and East Taylor Streets by the late 1920s. The area also included a vinegar factory and other smaller canneries.[34]

A residential neighborhood continued to grow up around the commercial areas. These homes were not occupied by Japanese, since their community consisted almost entirely of transient farm laborers staying in boardinghouses, business owners living behind their establishments, and farmers making day trips into San Jose. Instead, the homes around the Japanese business district and cannery area belonged to and were occupied by other ethnic groups, the most prevalent of which were Italians. A second wave of immigration from Italy after 1900 saw more coming from the south, poorer but equally as attracted by the valley's agricultural abundance. They contributed most directly to the growth of canning industry in San Jose, eventually coming to control many of the city's canneries and employing a large segment of the city's Italian community.[35] The Japanese continued to live and work primarily in the farms outside of San Jose while the number of permanent Italian residents living, and presumably working, in the Japantown area increased. Indeed, data suggests that Italians were by far the single largest residential ethnic group, accounting for over one-third of the area's population for decades.[36]

In addition to Italians and Japanese, the neighborhood continued to be the site of Heinlenville until John Heinlen died in 1931. It was at this time, during the difficulties of the Great Depression, that Heinlen's children could not meet the property's tax obligation, the land was sold, and the community disbanded.[37] The Chinese population, so large and important to Santa Clara County's economy in the mid- and late-19th century, had begun to dwindle across California as early as the 1880s.[38] The main reasons for this decrease were the strong anti-Chinese legislation enacted beginning in 1882 and acts of discrimination and terrorism undertaken against Chinese immigrants. In Santa Clara County, the Chinese immigrant community peaked at almost 3000 in 1890, after which their numbers fell substantially in the

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[34] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, 1915, vol. 1, maps # 9 and 95; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, 1921, vol. 1, maps # 2 and 3; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, 1929, vol. 1, maps # 9 and 95; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, 1950, vol. 1, maps # 9 and 95.

[35] DeVincenzi, 21 May 2004;Yamaichi, 20 April 2004.

[36] *New World-Sun Year Book/Shinsekai Asahi nenkan* (n.p.: New World-Sun, 1939): 155-166; *Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County* (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1940); *Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County* (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1943); *Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County* (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1947); *Polk's San Jose (Santa Clara County, Calif.) city directory including Santa Clara* (Monterey Park, CA: P.L. Polk & Co., 1955);*Polk's San Jose (Santa Clara County, Calif.) city directory including Santa Clara* (Monterey Park, CA: P.L. Polk & Co., 1965).

[37] Yamaichi, 20 April 2004.

[38] Nancy Wey, "Chinese Americans in California," in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, 1988): [online].

decades that followed. By the end of the Heinlenville era in the early 1930s, fewer than 1000 Chinese remained.[39] This exodus occurred in many small communities throughout the western states, leading to a corresponding growth in the size of several urban Chinatowns. Demolition of Heinlenville's buildings began in the early 1930s and continued until 1949, when the Ng Shing Gung temple building was razed. This building, considered an important symbol of San Jose's Chinese American past, was reconstructed in 1991 in Kelley Park.[40]

The number of Japanese people living in Santa Clara County rose modestly in the years immediately following its large 1890-1910 jump. However, soon the community experienced another substantial increase: from 2,981 in 1920 to 4,320 in 1930, a one-decade improvement of 50%.[41] Only some of this came about from the continued new arrivals from Japan, since legislation enacted in 1924 ended the immigration of Japanese men to the United States. Rather, this climb is also attributed to an influx of Japanese women, who came to this country to be the brides of men already here, as well as to children who resulted from these marriages. More important than the statistical facts, though, are the ramifications that the presence of women and children had on the eventual development of Japanese American community institutions in Santa Clara County. Indeed, it was during this period that what had once consisted of a group of transient laborers transformed into a community of permanent families. People invested in land, through their children or agreements with Caucasian lawyers, and baseball either replaced or supplemented activities like gambling.[42]

It was also during this period that another ethnic group began to arrive, Filipinos and Filipino Americans. Although Filipinos started coming in this country in 1898, when the United States defeated Spain and the Philippines became of its ward, most went initially to Seattle or Alaska to work as farm laborers. In Japantown, the Filipino American community established the Full Gospel Mission on North 6th Street near Heinlenville in the 1920s. They later founded a community lodge across the street.[43]

During the economic difficulties of the 1930s, a small number of new buildings were constructed in the neighborhood and the number of vacant properties remained about the same.[44] One of the most impressive buildings in Japantown, then and now, was constructed during this period, the Buddhist Church. Completed in 1937, its design was heavily inspired by historical Japanese architectural tradition. Through its architecture the building announces its heritage confidently, a notable exception within a community that was architecturally more inclined toward assimilation. It should be noted that the Buddhist Church was constructed by the Nishiura Brothers, a Japanese American firm whose work in the area included one of the neighborhood's other most architecturally and historically significant buildings, Kuwabara Hospital.

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[39] Lukes and Okihiro, 19.
[40] Yu, 110.
[41] Lukes and Okihiro, 19.
[42] "Akizuki," *Beginnings*, 14; Jimi Yamaichi, former general contractor and life-long San Jose resident, personal communication with the author, 2 May 2004.
[43] Jim Choate, "The Way We Are: Valley's Filipinos," *San Jose Mercury News* (24 September 1973).
[44] *Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County* (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1915); *Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County* (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1925); *Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County* (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1935); *Polk's*, (1940).

The canneries survived the Depression, and the Italian population increased slightly and then stabilized.[45] However, while there was a modest loss in the overall number of Japanese living in Santa Clara County, the number of Japanese residents and businesses in Japantown grew considerably between 1925 and 1940.[46] By the start of World War II, there were approximately 77 Japanese households in Japantown, up from only a handful in earlier years. This represented approximately 72% of all non-rural Japanese in San Jose and approximately 22% of the city's total rural and non-rural Japanese population.[47]

By 1940 Japantown included approximately 93 businesses and organizations serving the Japanese American community in San Jose and Santa Clara County, an increase of roughly 50% from two decades earlier. This included 19 community organizations, ranging from the Methodist and Buddhist Churches to the San Jose Chapter of the Japanese Citizens League, the Asahi Baseball Club, the Salvation Army, the Fishing Club, and a number of prefecture-based groups. Japantown offered at least 15 general and specialty stores, such as Dobashi Company, Ishikawa Dry Goods, Okida Sake Store, Shiba Watch Repair, Tanabe Candy Store, and Tokiwa Fish Market. The area also had doctors, dentists, pharmacists, laundries, insurance agents, hotels, restaurants, florists, barbers and beauty parlors, carpenters, gas stations, a cigar stand, and a host of other businesses, all of which contributed to making Japantown a vibrant, complete community.[48]

San Jose Japantown: War Years and Resettlement, 1941-1947

Oral history maintains that as the Depression came to a close in the late 1930s, the Japanese felt they had positioned themselves for better years ahead. Many Nisei were coming of age at this time and intended to either go to college or apply their youthful energy to the family business. What actually occurred, though, is very different from what San Jose's Japanese American families expected. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, making it legal for authorities to remove people from an area without trials or hearings on the basis of "military necessity." The resulting forced internment of Japanese Americans almost destroyed San Jose's Japantown community. Given only days to prepare, they hurriedly abandoned their homes and sold their businesses' stock at a loss. Many left their property in the care of non-Japanese friends, neighbors, or business associates. Benjamin Peckham, a Caucasian attorney who had been involved in most of Japantown's real estate transactions prior to the war, looked after many of these same properties, as well as the Buddhist temple building and all of the belongings people had stored there on the eve of internment.[49] Similarly, John Crummy, head of the Food Machinery & Chemical Corporation, served as the Caucasian trustee of the Japanese Methodist Church during the war.[50]

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[45] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, 1950, vol. 1, maps # 9 and 95; *Polk's*, (1925); *Polk's*, (1935); *Polk's*, (1940).
[46] Lukes and Okihiro, 19; *New World-Sun Year Book*, (1939); *Polk's*, (1925); *Polk's*, (1935); *Polk's*, (1940).
[47] *New World-Sun Year Book*, (1939).
[48] *New World-Sun Year Book*, (1939).
[49] Yamaichi, 2 May 2004.
[50] Leslie Masunaga, Japanese Community Congress survey committee member, communication with the authors, 16 June 2004; Although not subjected to the persecution experienced by the Japanese community, it should be noted that the other large ethnic population in Japantown, Italian Americans, experienced some difficulties in San Jose during World War II. In particular, 600,000 lived under "house arrest" during the war while the remainder were not allowed to speak Italian in public. A small number of Italian Americans, roughly 3,000 from California, were also sent to internment camps with the Japanese.

Between the beginning of the war in 1941 and the end of resettlement in 1947, approximately 45% of the Japanese properties in Japantown stood vacant, while about 65% had non-Japanese occupants. This was not the case for the Japanese properties along North 6th Street, however, where only 27% are documented as still vacant by the middle of the war. Similarly, while the overall number of Japanese in the neighborhood appears to have risen immediately after the war, it appears that only one Japanese business owner had returned to the North 6th Street and East Jackson Street area by 1947.[51]

In addition to those properties that remained vacant or were used by others, it is important to note that some were demolished during the 1941-47 period. A large gap between buildings on East Jackson Street near North 5th Street was the result of demolition activity; three adjoining structures were removed, two of which had housed pre-war Japanese businesses. The largest concentration of teardowns appears to have been along North 6th Street north of East Jackson Street, where six structures were razed during this time. Only one of these was the site of a Japanese business before the war; the others were either vacant or associated with people of another ethnic group in 1940.[52]

While countless Japantowns throughout California failed to regain their prewar Japanese American population, large numbers of Japanese Americans resettled in the San Jose area. This is believed to have resulted from three main factors: the continued potential for agricultural success in the Santa Clara Valley, the strength of San Jose's pre-war Japantown community, and willingness of others to protect Japanese American property during the war. Doctors and community leaders returned, establishing San Jose's Japantown as a center for evacuee support services. In subsequent years, not only did those Japanese Americans who lived here before the war come back, but some who had previously belonged to other Japanese communities were drawn to Santa Clara County to work in the high technology industry or take advantage of San Jose State University's open admissions policies.[53]

Oral history provides conflicting accounts of the relative ease with which returning San Jose Japanese reclaimed their Japantown property and restarted their lives. In one account, for example, the speaker is quoted as saying, those "who owned stores in Japantown just came back to their places and carried on from there."[54] This, presumably, refers to the businesses that remained were under Peckham's care and/or had remained vacant for the duration of the war. In retelling his story, another person described his family's fear at contemplating a return, saying "We also heard…that it was not safe to come back to San Jose…It just was dangerous because of discrimination, and so forth."[55] Some of this concern is likely to have arisen from apprehension about returning to find their properties occupied by others, many of whom had recently moved

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In general, however, San Jose's Italian Americans weathered the war with their property investments intact. (Source: DeVincenzi, 21 May 2004.)

[51] *Polk's*, (1940); *Polk's*, (1943); *Polk's,* (1947).

[52] *New World-Sun Year Book*, (1939); *Polk's*, (1940); *Polk's*, (1943); *Polk's,* (1947); Sanborn, 1915, vol. 1, map # 43; Sanborn, 1929, vol. 1, map # 43; Sanborn, 1950, vol. 1, map # 43.

[53] Yamaichi, 2 May 2004; Kathy Sakamoto, executive director of the Japantown Business Association, communication with the authors, 16 June 2004.

[54] "Hatsu (Matsumoto) Kanemoto," in *REgenerations Oral History Project* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2000): 161.

[55] "Paul S. Sakamoto," in *REgenerations Oral History Project* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2000): 161.

to the area to work in wartime industrial or agricultural pursuits. To help allay fears and provide shelter to those whose former homes were not available to them, the community established a hostel next to the Buddhist temple. This hostel operated for some time on a self-sustaining basis.[56]

The African American population in San Jose did not rise significantly during World War II. This is because most shipyard employment opportunities were located in San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and other San Francisco Bay port cities. Some managed to live in San Jose and commute to war-related jobs on a daily basis but a substantial rise in the number African Americans in San Jose did not occur until the post-war period.[57]

San Jose Japantown: Evolution, 1947 to the present

In addition to the reestablishment of a Japanese commercial district along several blocks of East Jackson Street, the post-war years also saw a new trend among returning evacuees: the integration of a substantial number of Japanese Americans into the residential sections of the neighborhood. As early as the Depression Japanese Americans had begun living outside of the main business area, scattered here and there among the lots between North 3rd and North 6th Streets. However, after 1947, and particularly beginning around the mid-1960s, almost every block between North 1st Street and the railroad tracks contained at least one property owned and/or occupied by someone of Japanese descent.[58] One potential reason for this shift relates to the neighborhood's residential building stock itself, small older structures considered less desirable than the large new homes constructed on the edge of town during the 1950s and 60s. This disparity may have made the neighborhood more accessible, financially, to Japanese American residents, some of whom struggled for more than a decade to gain economic independence after their forced internment. Another potential reason for the rise in the number of Japanese Americans living in Japantown has to do with the general shift from rural to urban settlement and the opening of non-farming career paths to the Nisei. Unlike earlier eras, when discrimination and alienation led most Japanese into agriculture, during the years after the war an increasing number of young Japanese left the family farm to move into the city, attend college, and take a professional job. San Jose State University became known for its open admissions policies, which encouraged Japanese Americans to come to San Jose for higher education. Similarly, Lockhead was the first company in the area to accept Japanese Americans, a move that enticed Nisei to stay in San Jose permanently.[59]

It is clear that by the mid-1950s Japanese Americans had managed to recreate the fabric of their pre-war community. Both of the major religious institutions that had served the Japanese American population there before the war, the Methodist Church and the Buddhist Church, continued to function, and the San Jose Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League was revived. Doctors, such as Tokio Ishikawa and Lee M. Watanabe, and dentists, such as Hisashi Nakahara and George Kawamura, reestablished their practices. Some stores reopened, including Dobashi's Market, Ishikawa's Department Store, and Kogura Appliance Company. Taketa's Restaurant and Ken Ying Low Restaurant were in operation again. A variety of other service enterprises also reemerged, including Onishi Florist, Taketa's Barber Shop, Nishiura

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[56] *"…With Liberty and Justice for All." The Story of San Jose's Japanese Community* (San Jose, CA: The City of San Jose Commission on The Internment of Local Japanese Americans, 1985): 89-94.
[57] Ellington and Arnold, 22 July 2004.
[58] *Polk's*, (1935); *Polk's*, (1940); *Polk's*, (1947); *Polk's*, (1955); *Polk's*, (1965).
[59] Yamaichi, 2 May 2004.

Construction Company, Alice's Beauty Salon, and National Printing Company.[60] Adding to these were a range of businesses that, while newly established since the war, provided many of the same services that Japanese Americans had received before internment. These included the San Jose Tofu Company, Shuei-Do Confectionary, and Taketa Billards.[61]

San Jose's Japantown did not undergo the broad brush of well-meaning but destructive "urban renewal" that transformed San Francisco's and Los Angeles' Japanese American communities in the 1960s and 70s. However, several blocks of the neighborhood experienced dramatic and long-lasting changes in this period. The first of these was the completion of the City of San Jose's Corporation Yard, eventually encompassing the entire block between East Taylor and East Jackson Streets on the north and south and North 6th and North 7th Streets to the west and east. Construction on the compound appears to have begun in the late 1940s, originally only on the north half of the block where the former Heinlenville development had been. One of the first buildings constructed there was a firehouse, at the corner of North 6th and Taylor Streets, which still exists and is in use today.[62] The corporation yard was contained within this site for approximately 15 years, co-existing with the remaining commercial buildings along both sides of the south half of the block. Around 1960 the compound expanded to include the rest of the block, resulting in the demolition of all the properties on the east side of North 6th Street north of East Jackson Street. Many of the buildings razed at this time were among the oldest commercial structures in Japantown and, by virtue of their location and use during earlier eras, had played a fundamental role in the establishment of the Japanese business district. There also appears to have been some re-configuration and in-fill development along the west side of North 6th Street at about this same period, which, when combined with the loss of half the block's historic buildings, further degraded the North 6th Street area's historic character.[63]

Another event from this period that impacted Japantown's development was the decline and eventual loss of the canneries. Although they survived the Depression and World War II, by the late-1960s high production costs, waste disposal problems, and decreased consumer demand caused the entire industry in Santa Clara County to buckle. This pressure was so intense that few of the county's many canneries managed to continue until the end of the century. None of the Japantown canneries remain in operation today, although remnants of these complexes can still be seen.[64] These include a brick building and water tower from the former Mariani cannery, located along Jackson Street between North 7th and 9th Streets, and a brick building that was previously part of the Pickle Factory, located near where the railroad tracks cross Taylor Street. Both of these brick buildings have been incorporated into condominium projects as adaptive re-use projects. Although the residential use is vastly different in function from the light industrial

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[60] *New World-Sun Year Book*, (1939); *Polk's*, (1955).
[61] *Polk's*, (1955).
[62] Jim McClure, Japantown Community Congress survey committee member, communication with the authors, 16 June 2004.
[63] Sanborn, 1950, vol. 1, map # 43; Sanborn, 1957, vol. 1, map # 43; Sanborn, 1962, vol. 1, map # 43; *Polk's*, (1955); *Polk's*, (1965).
[64] City of San Jose, "Draft Environmental Impact Report: Japantown Redevelopment Project" (San Jose, CA: City of San Jose, September 1993): 150; Donna M.Garaventa, Sondra A. Jarvis, and Melody E. Tannam, *Cultural Resources Assessment for the Jackson-Taylor Residential Strategy EIR, City of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California.* (San Leandro, CA: Basin Research Associates, Inc., 1991): 18; Roseanne Dominguez, *The decline of Santa Clara County's fruit and vegetable canning industry (1967-1987)* (Unpublished Master's thesis, San Jose State University, 1992).

uses of the past, like the canneries these housing developments act as the physical and psychological east edge of the Japanese-focused section of the neighborhood.

Finally, it should be noted that Japantown's multi-ethnic tradition continued after the war. As in earlier times, during the immediate post-war era the neighborhood was home to a large group of Italian Americans. Their numbers dropped dramatically in the mid-1960s, possibly as a result of the canning industry's difficulties. Encouraged by the progressive recruitment practices of Lockhead, I.B.M. and other high technology companies, the African American population rose significantly in the east side of the Japantown area (Northside neighborhood).[65] While still dominated by a Japanese focus, today's central Japantown commercial area harmoniously incorporates businesses and services representing other ethnic heritages.

A Summary of Typical Japanese American Community Infrastructure in San Jose's Japantown
Dr. Dubrow has identified a group of community institutions that historically constituted the fabric of American Japantowns. These included association buildings, theaters, community halls, language schools, churches and temples, hospitals and midwiferies, bathhouses, commercial establishments, and markets. A community's ability to reestablish key components of this infrastructure after internment meant the difference between a *Nihonmachi* that survived the trauma of World War II and one that did not.[66] In San Jose, the story is one of success: returned evacuees consciously went about recreating the supportive environment their community had developed there before the war. In some cases, the same businesses and institutions were reestablished, such as Dobashi Market or the Methodist and Buddhist congregations. In other instances, new enterprises emerged to offer services that had previously been provided in Japantown by others. Regardless of whether the businesses were old or new, however, the underlying importance of this phenomenon lies in the fact that it even occurred at all, with so many economic and social hurdles to overcome.

RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY RESULTS

During the reconnaissance survey phase of this project, Carey & Co. visually examined all of the survey area's 468 parcels. A total of 685 buildings, or 1.5 buildings per parcel, were identified and recorded. Well over half of the surveyed parcels were observed as residential. The following is a list of the neighborhood's current building uses, including the number of parcels displays these uses and the corresponding percentage of total parcels surveyed:

▪ Residential	325 parcels	69%
▪ Commercial/retail	57 parcels	12%
▪ Office	37 parcels	8%
▪ Parking	11 parcels	2%
▪ Religious	9 parcels	2%
▪ Vacant	9 parcels	2%

[65] Ellington and Arnold, 22 July 2004.
[66] Gail Dubrow and Nazila Merati, Draft Historic Context on Nihonmachi (or Japantowns): National Study of Japanese American Cultural Resources (Seattle, 1999, unpublished manuscript): n.p.; Gail Dubrow, architectural and urban historian specializing in Japanese American heritage, personal communication with the authors, 21 July 2004.

- Mixed-use 7 parcels 2%
- Civic/community 5 parcels 1%
- Light industrial 2 parcels less than 1%

Construction dates were known or clearly observable for the primary structure on 400 of the surveyed parcels. Just over half of Japantown's building stock dates to between 1890 and 1940, with the most significant increase in construction occurring in the first decade of the 20th century. The following is a chronological list of decades, with the number and corresponding percentage of the total parcels for which construction dates were known or observable:

- Pre-1889 6 parcels 2%
- 1890-1899 9 parcels 2%
- 1900-1909 131 parcels 33%
- 1910-1919 28 parcels 7%
- 1920-1929 36 parcels 9%
- 1930-1939 25 parcels 6%
- 1940-1949 52 parcels 13%
- 1950-1959 43 parcels 11%
- 1960-1969 37 parcels 9%
- 1970-1979 14 parcels 3%
- 1980-1989 6 parcels 2%
- 1990-1999 6 parcels 2%
- 2000-the present 5 parcels 1%

See Appendix C for parcel-specific data.

RECOMMENDATIONS

[to be included in the final report]